Message Text

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ACTION IO-11

INFO OCT-01 AF-06 ISO-00 AID-05 ACDA-05 AGR-05 CEA-01

CEQ-01 CG-00 CIAE-00 CIEP-01 OFA-01 COME-00 DLOS-04

DODE-00 DOTE-00 EB-07 EPA-01 ERDA-05 FEAE-00 FMC-01

TRSE-00 H-02 INR-07 INT-05 JUSE-00 L-03 NSAE-00

NSC-05 NSF-01 OES-03 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04 PRS-01 SP-02

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SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: SUDAN'S POSITION

REF: STATE 37591

1. FOLLOWING REPLIES WITH RESPECT TO THE SUDAN ARE KEYED TO QUESTIONS POSED IN PARA 7 REFTEL.

A. PRIMARY SUDANESE MULTILATERAL INTEREST SEEMS TO BE PROTECTION OF ITS NON-ALIGNED CREDENTIALS IN ARAB, AFRICAN AND THIRD WORLDS. GOS IS LIKELY CONTINUE TO SUPPORT EGYPT'S GRADUALIST APPROACH ON MIDEAST ISSUE BUT MAY BE EXPECTED TAKE MORE RADICAL STANCE ON AFRICAN PROBLEMS (E.G., EARLY RECOGNITION MPLA). WE EXPECT NO SUDANESE POLICY INITIATIVES IN INTERNATIONAL FORA IN 1976.GOS REPS TO INTERNATIONAL ORGS ARE LIKELY ADOPT POSITIONS ON SPOT ON MAJOR ISSUES DESIGNED CONFIDENTIAL

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KEEP GOS IN MAINSTREAM THIRD WORLD THINKING. MINED (AND

FORMER FONMIN) MANSOUR KHALID IS KNOWN TO COVET A SENIOR POST IN SOME INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION. BELIEVE WE SHOULD VIEW WITH CAUTION ANY REQUEST FOR OUR SUPPORT FOR KHALID'S CANDIDACY VIEW HIS UNHELPFUL ROLE AS FONMIN IN EVENTS SURROUNDING RELEASE OF THE MURDERERS OF AMBASSADOR NOEL AND DCM MOORE IN MID-1974.

B. AS NOTED ABOVE, GOS MAY BE EXPECTED FOLLOW THE PIED PIPERS TGB

ON-ALIGNMENT, NEITHER GETTING OUT IN FRONT NOR LAGGING TOO FAR BEHIND. WHEN SUDAN'S INTERESTS ARE NOT ADVERSELY AFFECTED, AND PROTECTIVE COLORATION IS PROVIDED BY A CONCURRING BLOC OF NON-ALIGNED STATES, GOS IS AMENABLE TO SUASION FROM COUNTRIES PROVIDING SPECIFIC, VALUED ASSISTANCE HERE (E.G., NORTH KOREA AT LAST UNGA). POSITIONS TAKEN BY ACTUAL OR POTENTIAL LARGE AID DONORS, I.E., THE GULF STATES OR BY EGYPT WILL ALSO APPEAL TO GOS ON ARAB QUESTIONS. ON MPLA RECOGNITION, HOWEVER, THE SUDAN SHOWED IT WAS PREPARED GET OUT IN FRONT OF EGYPT, TO THE LATTER'S ANNOYANCE. AS FAR AS WE AWARE, GOS EXERTS LITTLE INFLUENCE ON ANYONE.

C. SUDANESE DELEGATES TO MEETINGS ABROAD, LIKE THOSE PERMANTENTLY ASSIGNED AS NATIONAL REPRESENTATIVES TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, GENERALLY HAVE LOOSE INSTRUCTIONS DESIGNED ASSURE THAT SUDAN DOES NOT BREAK AWAY FROM THE NON-ALIGNED PACK. NEVER IN OUR EXPERIENCE HAVE SUBSEQUENT INSTRUCTIONS BEEN EFFECTTLS. A PERFECT CASE IN POINT WAS THE UNCTAD MEETING OF LAST SUMMER (75 STATE 191978 AND PREVIOUS).

D. LACK OF GOVERNMENTAL CONTROL OVER DELEGATION HEADS STEMS FROM HABIT OF VAGUE, GENERALIZED INSTRUCTIONS (SEE ABOVE) AND INADEQUATE COMMUNICATIONS RATHER THAN FROM INDEPENDENT POLITICAL POWER RESIDING IN THE DELEGATE. HOWEVER, PERSONAL OR FAMILY TIES JCTHIN THE SMALL COMMUNITY OF EDUCATED SUDANESE CAN BE CRUCIAL. FOR EXAMPLE, RECENT GOS UN PERMANENT REP MEDANI, AS THE THEN FONMIN'S SON-IN-LAW, WAS IMMUNE FROM LOW LEVEL KHARTOUM GUIDANCE.

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E. GOS IS ALWAYS GLAD AT LEAST TO LISTEN TO OUR RESPRESENTATIONS IN KHARTOUM, BUT WOULD REACT NEGATIVELY TO ANY OBVIOUS LINKAGE BETWEEN SUDAN'S POSITIONS ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES AND OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS. GOS ATTITUDE TOWARD CONCEIVED PRESSURE OR VEILED THREATS WAS ACCURATELY EXPRESSED IN A RECENT TALK BETWEEN THE AMBASSADOR AND FOREIGN MINISTRY UNDER SECRETARY MIRGHANI (KHARTOUM 436). SUDANESE WOULD MUCH PREFER TO KEEP OUR DIFFERENCES ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES

ISOLATED FROM OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIPS AND IN FACT PRETEND THERE IS NO CONNECTION. GOS HAS NOT TAKEN THE INITIATIVE F CONSULT US ON UN MATTERS.

2. CLEARLY, OUR WORK IS CUT OUT FOR US HERE, AS IT MUST BE IN DOZENS OF CAPITALS IN THE THIRD WORLD. WE FRANKLY FORESEE A LENGTHY EDUCATIONAL EFFORT WITH NO IMMEDIATE RESULTS. MOREOVER, SINCE WE ARE CONTINUING PENALIZE SUDANESE BY MAINTAINING "HOLDS" ON MOST MAJOR PROGRAM AREAS, WE CURRENTLY HAVE LESS FLEXIBILITY TO ENCOURAGE GOS TAKE MORE FAVORABLE POSITIONS ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES THAN PRESUMABLY OBTAINS IN MOST OTHER CAPITALS. BREWER

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